some reason not stated) from Ummattūr (in the present Chāmarājnagar taluk of Mysore), and settled at Malaikōta, the old fort near Kalhatti. Their family deities were Bhujangēsvara and Ummattūr Urakātti, which are still worshipped as such. They brought with them a following of Bēdars and Badagas, and thereafter always encouraged the immigration to the hills of more Canarese people. The village of Bannimara, a mile west of Kalhatti, is still peopled by Bēdars who are said to be descendants of people of that caste who came with the two brothers; and to this day, when the Badagas of the plateau have disputes of difficulty, they are said to go down to Nelliālam with presents (kānikai) in their hands, and ask the Arasu to settle their differences, while, at the time of their periodical ceremonies (manavalai) to the memory of their ancestors, they send a deputation to Nelliālam to invite representatives of the Arasu to be present."

Close to the village of Bethalhada is a row of cromlechs carved with figures of the sun and moon, human beings, animals, etc., and enclosed within a stone kraal, which the Badagas claim to be the work of their ancestors, to whom periodical offerings are made. At the time of my visit, there were within one of the cromlechs a conch shell, lingam, bell, and flowers. A number of these sculptured cromlechs at Sholūr, Mēlūr, and other spots on the Nīlgiris, are described and figured by Breeks,* who records that the cromlech at Jakata Kambē is interesting as being the place of the yearly sacrifice performed by the Badagas of the Jakanēri grāma (village) by their Kāni Kurumba. And he adds that the Badagas would seem to have usually selected the

* Account of the Primitive Tribes and Monuments of the Nilagiris, 1873.

1: Thurston & Rangachari E,G-4,5 (no date) 1909
AW50 Badaga AW50

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DOLMENS NEAR KOTAGIRI

[facing p. 71]

1: Thurston & Rangachari E,G-4,5 (no date) 1909
AW50 Badaga AW50

neighbourhood of these cromlechs for their temples, as for example, at Mēlūr, Kakūsi, H'laiuru, Tudūr, and Jakatāda.

It is recorded *, in connection with the legends of the Badagas, that "in the heart of the Banagudi shōla, not far from the Doddūru group of cromlechs, is an odd little shrine to Karairāya, consisting of a ruined stone hut surrounded by a low wall, within which are a tiny cromlech, some sacred water-worn stones, and sundry little pottery images representing a tiger, a mounted man, and some dogs. These keep in memory, it is said, a Badaga who was slain in combat with a tiger; and annually a festival is held, at which new images are placed there, and vows are paid. A Kurumba makes fire by friction and burns incense, throws sanctified water over the numerous goats brought to be sacrificed, to see if they will shiver in the manner always held necessary in sacrificial victims, and then slays, one after the other, those which have shown themselves duly qualified. Hulikal Drūg, usually known as the Drūg, is a precipitous bluff at the very end of the range which borders on the south the great ravine which runs up to Coonoor." It is named from the neighbouring village of Hulikal, or tiger's stone, and the story goes that this latter is so called because in it a Badaga killed a notorious man-eater which had long been the terror of the country side. The spot where the beast was buried is shown near the Pillaiyar temple to the south of Hulikal village, and is marked by three stones. Burton says there used formerly to be a stone image of the slain tiger thereabouts. Some two miles south-east of Kōnakarai in a place known as Kōttai-hāda, or the fort flat, lie

* Gazetteer of the Nilgiris.

1: Thurston & Rangachari E,G-4,5 (no date) 1909
AW50 Badaga AW50

778 the remains of the old fort Udaiya Rāya Kōta. Badaga tradition gives a fairly detailed account of Udaiya Rāya. 173 It says he was a chief who collected the taxes for the Ummattūr Rājas, and that he had also a fort at Kullanthorai, near Sirumugai, the remains of which are still to be seen. He married a woman of Netlingi hamlet of Nedugula, named Muddu Gavari, but she died by the wrath of the gods because she persuaded him to celebrate the annual fire-walking festival in front of the fort, instead of at the customary spot by the Mahālingasvāmi temple about half a mile off. Ānaikatti is a hamlet situated in the jungle of the Moyar valley. The stream which flows past it tumbles over a pretty fall on the slopes of Bīrmukkū (Bimaka) hill. The Badagas call the spot Kuduraihallo, or the ravine of the horse, and say the name was given it because a Badaga, covered with shame at finding that his wife gave him first sort rice but his brother who lived with them only second sort, committed suicide by jumping his horse down the fall."

615 According to Mr. Grigg, the Badagas recognise eighteen different "castes or sects." These are, however, simplified by Mr. S. M. Natesa Sāstri * into six, "five high castes and one low caste." They are—

1. Udaya.	High caste.
2. Hāruva.	
3. Adhikāri.	
4. Kanaka.	
5. Badaga.	
6. Toreya ...	Low caste.

"Udayas are Lingāyats in religion, and carry the Sivalinga—the Siva image—tied round their necks. They claim to be superior to all the other Badagas, and

(113)

* Madras Christian College Magazine, 1892.

782 close at hand, the milk is taken to the temple, and given
788 to the pūjāri. With a portion of the milk some plantain fruits are made into a pulp, and given to an Udaya, who
264] throws them into a stream. The boy is treated with some respect by his family during the period when he milks the animal, and is given food first. This he must eat off a plate made of *Argyreia*, or plantain leaves.

361 Besides the hāgōttu within the house, the Badagas have, at certain places, separate dairy-houses near a temple dedicated to Heththeswāmi, of which the one at Bairaganni (or Bērganni) appears to be the most im-
793 portant. The dairy pūjāri is here, like the Toda palol, a celibate. In 1905, he was a young lad, whom my
123] Brāhman assistant set forth to photograph. He was, however, met at a distance from the village by a headman, who assured him that he could not take the photograph without the sanction of fifteen villages. The pūjāri is not allowed to wander freely about the village, or talk to grown-up women. He cooks his own food within the temple grounds, and wears his cloth thrown loosely over his body. Once a year, on the occasion of a festival, he is presented with new cloths and turban, which alone he may wear. He must be a strict vege-
787] tarian. A desire to marry and abandon the priesthood is believed to be conveyed in dreams, or through one inspired. Before leaving the temple service, he must train his successor in the duties, and retires with the gains acquired by the sale of the products of the herd
•778) and temple offerings. The village of Bairaganni is regarded as sacred, and possesses no holagudi (menstrual hut).

782] Bishop Whitehead adds that "buffaloes are given as offerings to the temple at Bairaganni, and become the property of the pūjāri, who milks them, and uses the

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
AW50 Badaga AW50

Kurumba headman should notify the Kota headman that they will be playing at a certain Badaga village; and the Badaga inviting them should first get permission from the Kota headman to do so.[22] This set of rules is no longer followed since the feelings of Kota headmen are not respected now that Badaga/Kota relations have in general been broken off.

Until the 1930s when the institution of commune watchman began to lose currency, the Kurumba got a quarter rupee each month for every pair of oxen in the commune, or more often its equivalent in grain. [23] At harvest time he would also receive the same sum or else six litres of new grain collected from the villagers by the headman's assistant. In addition he and his family would be fed whenever in the commune.[24] The Kurumba could also rely on Badagas to satisfy all of his clothing needs, for which purpose the headman would first collect grain from the villagers with which to purchase the cloth by barter from the visiting Chetti trader. An early claim (Harkness, 1832, 109, note) that the commune Kurumba could inherit a Badaga's estate when there were no traceable heirs has never been recorded since and would not be possible today.

When a Kurumba watchman dies the headman of the Badaga commune should collect some gifts from the villagers and take them, or have them sent, to the bereaved family. This used to be imperative to secure the goodwill of the family from which the next watchman would also be drawn.

In the pre-British days the Kurumba watchmen got their only salt and crude sugar from Badagas who made annual expeditions to the plains for such needs. These had largely ceased by 1825.

BADAGAS AND IRULAS

The only Badagas having any regular contact with Irulas are those near Ha:sanu:ru and those living in the eastern sector of the Nilgiris. In this latter area Badagas probably—and erroneously—treat the Irulas as a section of the Kurumba tribe, and hence their interrelationship approximates that between Badagas and Kurumbas elsewhere on the plateau.

One of the highest mountains (1788 m.) in that particular area is Rangasa:mi Peak (Metz, 1864, 65–66; Nicholson, 1898, 426–427; Noble, 1976, 124), important in Nilgiri culture because it is crowned by a Vaishnavite shrine (actually two megalithic circles of

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
AW50 Badaga AW50

unknown antiquity).[25] This is controlled by Irula priests—who, unlike most South Indian tribals, are Vaishnavites. The two monoliths inside the stone circles represent the god Rañga and his wife, to whom some of the local Badagas make a yearly offering of plantains, milk and coconuts:

> The hereditary pújári is an Irula, and on the day fixed by the Badagas for the annual feast, he arrives from his hamlet . . ., bathes in a pool below the summit, and marches to the top shouting 'Góvinda! Góvinda!' The cry is taken up . . . and the whole crowd, which includes Badagas, Irulas and Kurumbas, surrounds the enclosures while the Irula priest invokes the deities by blowing his conch and beating his drum, and pours oblations over, and decorates with flowers, the two stones which represent them. That night two stone basins on the summit are filled with ghee [clarified butter] and lighted, and the glare is visible for miles around. The ceremonies close with prayers for good rain and fruitfulness among the flocks and herds, a wild dance by the Irula, and the boiling . . . of much rice in milk. (Francis, 1908. 340; compare Ward, 1821, lxii; Breeks, 1873, 70; Macleane, 1893, 373).

While Badaga contact with the Irulas was less frequent than with other tribes, one of the major 'sanskritizing' influences in the Nilgiris was clearly constituted by the Irulas until the latter part of the last century. As Metz observed (1864, 133), 'They come up now and then . . . and divert the inhabitants with obscene theatrical performances representing passages in the life of Krishna, whom they call Govinda'. The Abbé Dubois (1906, 196) pointed out how in the early 1800s Rañgasa:mi Peak was a place of pilgrimage for Hindus from the plains, who 'have made it a *punyasthala*, or place of virtue . . . As it is very difficult to reach the top of this mountain, a view of the summit alone . . . is considered sufficient to remove the burden of sin . . . .' Those stalwart pilgrims who did clamber up the peak could hardly have failed to influence local Badagas to some extent in pre-British times.

For such services as their Krishna dramas and occasional medical therapy Irulas used to get grain from the Badagas, a gift which was probably in the nature of a *douceur*, for Irulas were also considered sorcerers (though less powerful than the true Kurumba). Some Badagas living close to Irulas probably had a more

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
AW50 Badaga AW50

177 report of wife exchange between Todas and Mudugas has not been substantiated by recent investigation; see von Fürer-Haimendorf, 1954, *passim*.

000 12. Grigg, 1880, 212; compare Metz, 1864, 123, 'Rifle', 1872, 32; Stokes 1883a, 6. They were from one particular clan nicknamed 'Kurumba-cut-people'.

177 13. Francis, 1908, 272; Thurston, 1909, vol. VII, 115; Shaposhnikova, 1969, ch. 22; at present only two Badagas rent land from Todas.

177 614 14. Those of the high-status Ha:ruva and Lingayat clans eat only the milk products, not cooked food, if they visit Todas. For an instance of a Toda priest putting butter on the Badaga ceremonial spear, see Emeneau, 1971, 5, 744.

565 622 15. There is a kind of upper class among Badagas, which I call the gentry: families claiming direct descent from the founder of their village. It is from these families that the headmen usually come; see above, Diagram 6.

000 16. The fact that Badagas and anthropologists may go right up to the *ti:* enclosure while Todas stay a hundred meters away perhaps led Rivers to presume his Badaga guide for the day had a special relationship with the *palol*!

439 17. The sanctity of milk from sacred buffaloes has been lost once it is made into clarified butter, and this can be sold; Emeneau, 1938, 104, 112.

778 18. Rivers, 1906, 103. A less reliable source claims the *palol's* cloth was woven by the Toreas of Jakkane:ri; near Kotagiri; see Macleane, 1893, 905.

000 19. *U:r Kuruba;* Breeks, 1873, 53-54. The common spelling *Kurumba* comes from Tamil.

186 20. No Kurumba is allowed in a Lingayat house, as he is believed capable of polluting it. Other phratries allow him as far as the outer room and consider him less polluting than a Kota.

000 21. Harkness, 1832, 84-85; Metz, 1864, 116-117; Thurston, 1909, vol. I, 86, and 1912, 232-233; 'Miles,' 1951, 71. Fifty years ago an up-to-date old lady was 'experimenting with flying'.

22. Badagas assert it would be unethical or liable to bring misfortune were Kurumbas and Kotas allowed to play music together on the same occasion.

177 621 23. Metz, 1864, 116; Thurston, however, stated this to be the *annual* tax paid by each Badaga family; see Thurston, 1909, vol. I, 86-87. According to Kotas it should be 'four annas and a meal paid by each house'; Emeneau, 1946, 257.

24. Ward, 1821, lxxvi; Harkness, 1832, 109; Metz, 1864, 116. Around Kotagiri each family gave their Kurumba 18 litres; compare Harkness, 1832, 135, note. Elsewhere he was thought to get about one-sixtieth of the harvest; Harkness, 1832, 57. Earlier his share was put at 15-37 litres per farmer, plus 'as many of the sheaves as he can well bear away on his shoulders'; Ward, 1821, lxxvi. The Kurumbas accepted cooked food from Badagas, uncooked food from Todas, but none from Kotas; Macleane, 1893, 222.

795 25. Though the Badagas are Shaivites there are also Vaishnavite temples in some villages, managed by Shaivite priests.

595 583 26. Marriage, which is rarely polygynous, involves payment of a bridewealth of a hundred rupees, refundable upon divorce; for an instance of marriage between So:ḷu:r and the Wainad Gaudas, see Emeneau, 1971, 611.

586 27. Ranga, 1934, 55-59; Noble, 1968, 174-175. This relationship was ended by Government action in 1976.

648 657 28. Moses, 1964, 10; Srinivas, 1965, 20-22; *paṇya* is also a section of the Yerava tribe in Coorg.

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2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
AW50 Badaga AW50

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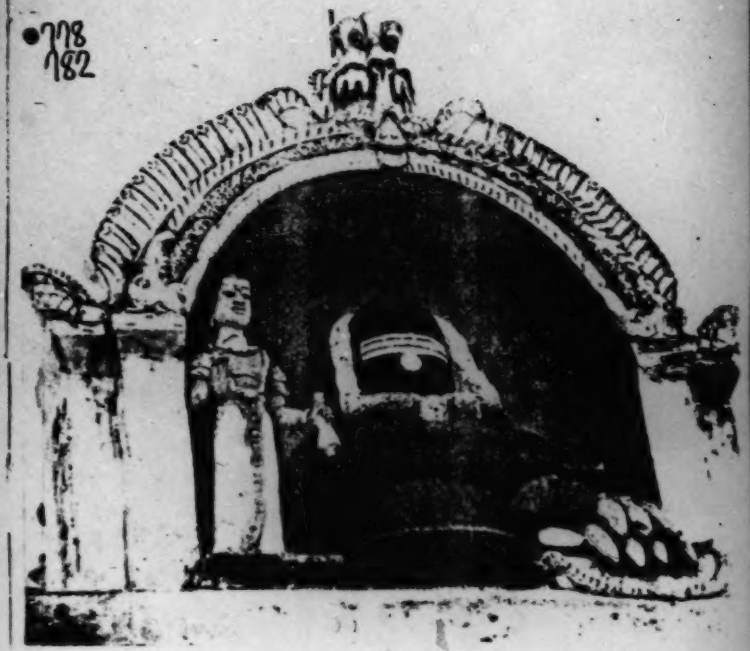

Pl. II

[Following p. 248-K]

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
AM50 Badaga AM50

•NB

Pl. 16

[following p. 248-P]

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
AW50 Badaga AW50

Plate Section

361 Plate 1 A typical Badaga hamlet (Dimbaṭṭi), above the valley floor but sheltered by a hill from the south-west monsoons. Note the strips of land running downhill. The well in the foreground is new.

342 Plate 2 Typical work-space (ke:ri) in front of houses in Ka:ṭe:ri. The two-story house is a twentieth-century innovation. The poles carry electricity to most houses.

291 Plate 3 A Toda couple, both wearing embroidered shawls (pu:txuly).

301 643 Plate 4 Pāda Rāja Gowder, paramount chief of the Badagas since 1956, and headman of Tu:ne:ri. His gold earrings are of a traditional design.

302 877 Plate 5 Two schoolgirls carrying their lunch, O:ranaṛi hamlet. Both have an auspicious mark on the brow.

302 759 Plate 6 Sithamma, grandmother of the girls in Plate 5; she lived in O:ranayi, was a traditional Lingayat, and a noted herbal therapist. Her gold ornaments are traditional.

000 Plate 7 Kumba:ras in Kempola hamlet, here enshrouded in mist.

177 764 Plate 8 Kotas from Kolmel playing for Lingayats dancing during a funeral at the neighbouring hamlet of O:ranayi, 1963. Women do not dance in public.

243 231 Plate 9 Cattle threshing grain on a work-space in O:ranayi. The hired labourers are non-Badagas.

496 291 Plate 10 Women's work-group outside a house in Ki:ṛkunda village. All wear sarees in place of the traditional dress.

778 782 Plate 11 The Goddess Hette with bell, a wreathed *linga*, and *p* tray with plantain and half-coconut offerings, decorating a Lingayat temple in Ka:ṭe:ri.

623 632 Plate 12 Council of elders at Ke:ti village. The commune headman is on the extreme left, in white.

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
AW50 Badaga AW50

769 Plates 13 and 14 The *manevale* (memorial ceremony) at Ittala:r in 1905. (Courtesy Basel Mission.)

561 764 Plate 15 A funeral in Hulla:ḍa hamlet, 1963. The widower leads a procession of men, in order of their generation level and absolute age, three times around the corpse, upon which they deposit the grain held in their hands. Unrelated men and women sit on either side of the grassy space.

778 Plate 16 Medieval carved orthostat, now a shrine, at Be:ḷḷa:ḍa.

3: Hockings E-5 (1962-1963) 1968
AW50 Badaga AW50

121 the stream, the cattle shed, and the hearth. Furthermore, the participants in
796 this ceremony do all they can to insure that they are in a state of purity, and that they do nothing to cause a mishap during this particular day.

Let us now examine these points in more detail. The requirements of
783 ritual purity and bodily cleanliness are a *sine qua non* for the performance of any ceremony. If a man does not approach the gods with the knowledge that he has done all that he can to be in a pure state, he has little hope that
175 his prayers will be answered. In pre-British days, when the salt had to be
437 purchased in the plains below, it received special treatment from the mo-
439 ment of purchase onward to insure that it would not become polluted before the ceremony. The men who were to carry the salt up the mountain slopes were not to carry anything else; contact with ordinary foodstuffs
783 would pollute this particular salt. The annual trading expeditions were normally timed so as to fall a few weeks before the salt-giving ceremony. Nowadays a Badaga simply buys his own salt in the town market and brings it home without special ritual precautions.

231 High in the roof of each cattle shed are shelves on which various dairy
• 778 articles are stored. The man who brings the salt home is supposed to take it
783 straight to the cattle shed and place it on one of these shelves; he must not bring it directly into his house, even though he will later have to do so when the ceremony is about to begin. It is felt that the salt would become polluted in the house if it were brought into an unpurified room where sexual activity has occurred. The cattle shed, though not considered a temple like the Toda dairy, is a pure and sacred place because milk is stored there. When the salt is finally brought into each purified house for powder-
783 ing, it is whisked around the mortar with the help of a freshly cut twig
796 of wild *'hubbe* (also used for loosening any salt that remains on the bottom of the basket). The Badagas have two kinds of broom, one for indoor use
(824) and one for outside; but both are considered impure because of what they have come in contact with, and so cannot be used for sweeping the salt
(412) around while it is being powdered. The used part of the *'hubbe* branch is
(783) thrown away after this, and the unused remainder is placed on top of the salt. From the time of purchase onward, this salt is always carried in a special basket kept only for this purpose.

It is not only the salt that must be kept in a ritually pure state; the
783 man selected to perform the ceremony on behalf of each household is also under certain restrictions. From the day of the new moon until after the salt has been given to the cattle this man must not shave, have sexual relations, cut his finger or toe nails, or stay overnight anywhere other than in his own home. By observing all these prohibitions he is believed to build
(765) up a state of personal purity. (Were a man to cut his hair and shave, it would suggest he had recently attended a funeral and was still in the inauspicious state of mourning for a deceased relative.) The culmination of this spiritual preparation comes on the night preceding the ceremony, when he must sleep alone on a sack on the earthen floor, wearing cotton and without any other bedding.

(354) Early the following morning the house has to be purified too. After the

4: Hockings E-5 (1962-1977) 1980
AW50 Badaga AW50

1933: 74). They now keep rags on a special shelf in the house for the same purpose: the men, knowing what the rags are intended for, never place anything else on the same shelf. Today, with the menstrual hut rarely used, women simply sit on a pile of ash in a corner of the outer room for three days. If a menstruating woman sleeps there she cleans and changes her clothes and bedding every day. At the end of the period she puts her mattress outside to air, cleans the floor at the place where it lay, and sprinkles the area with liquid cowdung. The woman may even enter the inner, sacred room during the day; whereas a generation or two beforehand that action would have resulted in her being divorced and sent home to her father. The outraged husband would then have the entire house cleaned out and would perform the rituals appropriate for the completion of a new building.

Although older women think the menstrual hut was a good institution, in that it gave women six days of complete rest each month, there is a general recognition that the present custom is not altogether inconvenient, since a woman now has ready access to clean clothing, water, and some other household facilities. The fact that a woman may leave a characteristic odour in the house is seen as the main disadvantage today. Some families still observe a custom that prohibits a woman from drinking buttermilk or entering a cattleshed until the seventh day after menses. This indicates that the latter building is considered more sacred than the inner room of a house; (and indeed, in certain respects, a cattleshed could be used as a temple in earlier times).

3.14. Some other observations can be offered on the use women made of their time while in the menstrual hut. Each hamlet, and sometimes each cluster of hamlets, had only one such hut. This was the case even in hamlets that were riven by factions, for such disputes were mainly the concern of the men (as we shall see again when discussing who attends a woman's delivery). A woman may enter any convenient hut and if she were, for example, visiting her father's village she would use the menstrual hut there. A man may even send his wife away to another village for her period if there is a woman of ill repute currently staying in the hut in his own village. Married adolescent girls who had never been pregnant would usually return to their fathers' villages to use the hut. Such predilections were not the result of whim or differential cleanliness, but were reactions to the well-known fact that the hut was a key place for arranging

4: Hockings E-5 (1962-1977) 1980
AW50 Badaga AW50

half, and on each cut surface someone puts fresh cowdung, a blade of Bermuda grass, and some clarified butter. Then an old, experienced woman takes the first half of the lime and runs itdo wn the right side of the baby, not quite touching the body. As she does this she says: "This child belongs to both the father and the mother;" but she does not name the parents. This assertion of joint parentage is the whole point of the ritual. Then the half lime is sucked by the mother, touched to her child's mouth, and thrown away. In the same manner the other half of the lime is then run down the left side of the baby, the same pronouncement made, and the mother sucks the lime, touches it to the baby's mouth, and throws it away too. The lime is perhaps intended to ward off evil spirits. If at an unexpected birth no lime is available, the ritual is either done using the leaf of a lime tree, or failing that it is done with the cowdung, grass and clarified butter alone. After this the baby is fed, first from the right breast, then from the left.

Bezoar is a "heat-giving" substance from the stomach of a cow, supposedly the one which leads the herd. A small quantity of it—about as much as a coriander seed—is covered with mother's milk and given to a male infant just after he has drunk milk for the first time. Should there be none available then, the bezoar can also be fed to him on the third, fifth or seventh day of life, and that day must be a Friday, Tuesday, or Sunday. It is believed that this substance will make the boy active, strong, and very brave; it is therefore not given to girls, lest they grow up to disobey their husbands. The biggest bezoar stones are perhaps 2 cm. in diameter. They are found in the stomachs of nearly all cows, especially those which are very healthy or those which are barren. Interestingly, all vegetarian Badagas give this substance to their infants, even though they know it comes from a dead animal, Like all children's medicines, it is now obtainable in the town bazaars, though formerly it was supplied by the Kota tribe; it even comes in "tablet form."

If the woman is actually ill before the delivery, and in half of the other childbirth cases as a precaution, she is given a medicine before drinking the coffee offered her after the birth. An oil called *be:vepe*, which comes from the seed of the nim tree, is boiled with some garlic in it, allowed to cool for a while, and then the mother drinks a little and the remainder is rubbed over her head, neck and body. The oil is very "heat-giving." A piece of garlic is tied with

5 CHILD CARE

539

"Pacifying the children is no less of a job than digesting the raw flesh of an animal."
(Proverb)

Feeding the Infant

853

5.1. In Chapter 4 I have described the actions which immediately follow an infant's arrival in the world. There we saw how the newborn child sucks his mother's breast for the first time, and then swallows a small piece of bezoar. This is only one of several substances that he may be offered in the first few days of life. It has been reported that another buffalo product used to be given a day or two after birth, but its identity is uncertain; some identify it with bezoar, others with asafoetida, which is in fact a resinous vegetable substance. After a few days, when the child's stool is not yellow, some burnt rhizome of the sweet flag is also fed to the baby, mixed with mother's (Jagor 1876: 199). Somewhat later in life children were sometimes taken on pilgrimage to the temple at Ka:ramaḍai, near the eastern foot of the Nilgiris, where they were fed a particularly unsavoury medicinal foodstuff. Here during the annual festival for the goddess Ma:riamma mendicants were given consecrated pieces of banana mixed with crude sugar. These they chewed a little, then spat into the hands or mouths of devotees, who ate this or fed it to their children because it was believed to cure all diseases ("Miles" 1933: 267).

[978] [988]

5.2. Mother's milk is the best food for a baby, better than any animal's milk. The child should be weaned at one year, particularly as the mother may be pregnant again by then. Some mothers naturally have little milk; with others the flow of milk may stop if

[862]

614 Lingayats (although since about 1960 some of them have taken to wearing the lingam again).

514 614 Adikaris, like Kapakkas, admit Haruvas, Kaggusis, and other Lingayats to the inner room for meals; (Wodeyas refuse to eat with them, however); Gaudas and Toreyas may only eat in the outer room, and members of the other tribes are not allowed past the entrance door. Adikaris and Kapakkas eat only at the houses of Haruvas and Wodeyas, where they can feel sure of receiving the correctly prepared vegetarian dishes.

614 The Kapakkas, although now agriculturists like all other Badagas, once held the monopoly over literacy in the Nilgiris (Grigg 1880: 221). Their name means "accountant", and is generally taken to indicate that some of their forefathers acted as village accountants when a ruler in the Coimbatore Plains, probably the East India Company, became powerful enough to demand the levy of taxes. Although the Kapakkas are Lingayats, and today have a status equal with that of the Adikaris, there are many Badagas who will whisper darkly that originally the Kapakkas were not Kanarese at all, but Tamilians. The Kapakkas themselves would not own to this, since experience with the Madras Government officials has led nearly all Badagas to despise the Tamilian but to be more charitably inclined toward the Mysorean; still, it may well be true that the Kapakkas were Gaundans, an agricultural caste from the Coimbatore Plain, who were brought to the Nilgiris because they knew how to write (Grigg 1880: 221). My discovery of some 500 palm-leaf manuscripts hidden in two Kapakka hamlets lends support to this belief. These leaves were written two to four centuries ago in a script and language close to modern Tamil. Some of the texts are devotional in character, but many are the exercises of tyro scribes. The leaves are now treasured as the sacred writings

115 167 614

(127)

614 378

614 of ancestral Kapakkas and are worshipped but never read. No ancient manuscripts
•778 were discovered in Kannada, it should be noted.

582 Kapakkas intermarry with Adikaris, Haruvas and Kaggusis, and during
614 this century some have married girls from Lingayat families in Mysore. A few cases of Kapakkas marrying Wodeyas have also been cited above (p. 54).

As Kapakkas and Adikaris marry much more frequently with each other than with any other sib, and as they are both Lingayat groups, they are normally accorded equal status by all Badaga phratries. The regulations for Kapakka commensality are precisely the same as those described above for the Adikaris.

614 Among the smallest sibs is the one called Kaggusi. Their numbers must
[162] total slightly under a thousand. These people are vegetarians who inhabit only four hamlets. They wear neither the sacred thread nor the lingam. The sib, like all
582 others, is exogamous: they intermarry mainly with Kapakkas, but also with Haruvas
614 and Gaudas. It is interesting to note that the Adikaris will not marry Kaggusis on the grounds that, because Kapakkas do marry them, they must be fictive brothers to the Adikaris; yet no such argument stops an Adikari from marrying a Heruva. Perhaps Haruva/Kaggusi marriages are too infrequent to be remembered by the Adikaris.

615 Some 90% of the total population of Badagas are Gaudas; for which reason
[162] this phratry is commonly called Badaga. A rough estimate puts their population at
[121] around 80,000 people. It is preferable to use the correct but not widely recorded term Gauda, since it obviates the confusion that can arise in calling a single phratry and also the entire community by the same name. The word Gauda also gives an

Badagas and all other Śaivites, as the supreme god. As is common in village Hinduism, he is worshipped in a variety of forms, each of which may appear outwardly to be a distinct deity. The most widely encountered of these in the Nilgiris are the bull, Nandi, and the members of Śiva's family, his wife Pārvati and his sons Ganeśa and Subramaniam. Badagas also worship the disease-bringing goddesses, Mari and her three sisters, all of whom are aspects of Pārvati. There are a few (mostly recent) temples to Viśnu, who is called Ranganātan, and who, together with Brahmā, is considered to be an inferior aspect of Śiva. Śiva is commonly represented in the temples of all Badagas, and not only among the Lingayats, by a stone in the lingam shape. This is supposed to symbolize the form of the universe. Each hamlet usually has a temple dedicated to at least one of these gods.

The second category of deities is that of the distinctively Badaga gods, who seem originally -- to judge from the stories told about them -- to have been the ancestors of the Badagas themselves. There are two important ones: Hiriodeya, an old man, and Hetthe, an old woman usually thought of as his wife (Harkness 1832: 110; Francis 1908: 316). Many hamlets have temples for one or both of them, and seem to regard them in each place as ancestors of the particular hamlet rather than of all Badagas. Unlike the other gods, they are depicted on temples in the distinctive Badaga dress.

The third category covers the gods of nature. These include such phenomena as sun, moon, wind, water and earth. They are not objects of protracted worship. There are no temples to the gods of nature; only certain patterns of respect. Thus, when a man gets up in the morning he salutes the sun as he says a brief prayer relating to his own well-being. When a man has to cross a stream with a horse, he should not insult the water by riding straight through it but should

776 a ghost asks for.
779
[782]

The sixth category of supernatural beings, a group to whom private prayers are often directed in the home, are the great national heroes. These are primarily Mr. Nehru, the late Prime Minister, Subhas Chandra Bose, the Bengali patriot, and above all Mahatma Gandhi. People disagree about the nature of their great power over men; but many Badagas certainly regard them as enlightened saints. Nehru seems to symbolize political power, Bose military power, and Gandhi spiritual power.

776 Hindu saints are really the seventh category of supernatural beings. Saints,
778 prophets and spiritual leaders, like the national heroes, are worshipped in the home.
779 A small room at one end of the veranda contains framed lithographic prints of such
782 beings, and here the men of the household — and sometimes the women — will address their prayers to the depicted pantheon. The collection of framed household deities regularly includes such beings as Śiva and his family, saints like Sai Baba, Swami Vivekananda, Buddha and Jesus Christ (Ranga 1934: 63), political leaders like Nehru, Gandhi, S.C. Bose and K. Kamaraj (then President of the Congress Party), and a portrait of the most recently deceased head of the family. Jesus and Mary are widely respected powers: Badagas who live near to a church sometimes make contributions to the Christians' poor fund at Christmas, and it is not uncommon to see Śaivites present at the Christmas-Eve service in the Protestant church, and at the Easter procession of the Catholic church. One Lingayat man has pictures only of Jesus and the Madonna in his house, and does a daily meditation before them.

968 Every hamlet feels that to have any prestige in the eyes of others it must
M18 at least boast a temple structure for its god or gods. Even so, there are many deities that are embodied only in a rough stone object standing under a tree or

beside a stream somewhere. Some very small hamlets still have nothing more like a temple than such an object; but usually they will erect at least a small shed over the image. The average-sized hamlet (of perhaps 80-100 households) has four or five built temples, as well as various minor shrines of the kind just described. In addition there is normally a large temple common to the whole "village". Three temples in the Nilgiris (at Melur, Bokkapur and Bergani) attract devotees from all over the District for their annual festivals (Francis 1908: 316-317, 339-340). The larger temples all have Haruva or Gauda priests, and worship is done regularly once a day or once a week. Smaller temples may only be used once or twice a year, and then at a particular festival. While priests are appointed from among the villagers, or may sometimes be hereditary roles in certain families, they officiate only in their own hamlet or "village", and there is no kind of wider church-like organization to Badaga Śaivism. For the past century, however, Badagas have been making pilgrimages to various of the major South Indian temple centers, the closest being Perur, near Coimbatore, Nanjangud, near Mysore, and Palni. There has thus been contact in recent times with the "great tradition" and its philosophical literature; and this has had the effect of bringing Badaga religious practices closer to those of the plainsmen. This topic will be considered later in the thesis (cf. Chapter VII).

Lingayatism, otherwise known as Virasaivism, is one of the more important and most recent schools to develop in Śaivite philosophy. The origin of the present Lingayat philosophical system, qua system, can be traced quite reliably to ca. 1160 A.D. at the Central Indian city of Kalyana, where it was formulated by a saint named Basava. After him came many followers and com-

Because of the isolation of the Lingayat Badagas, they have only recently begun to learn about the details of Vīraśaiva philosophy. They wear the lingam and bury their dead; but they worship various deities other than Śiva, just as other Badagas do, and have numerous temples with Lingayat priests but -- until two decades ago -- no monastery at all. Indeed, all seven categories of supernatural beings which we described earlier as influencing the lives of Śaivite Badagas are equally respected in the Lingayat hamlets. It would probably be correct to say that until the end of the last century the various Lingayat sibe differed culturally from all other Badagas only in their worship of a personal lingam and their custom of burying the dead.

Little need be said here about the Badaga Christians, as we must soon review their emergence as a faction. Their numbers (perhaps 2000) are divided fairly evenly between the unified Protestant Church of South India and the Roman Catholic Church. Relations between the members and clergy of these two churches are now very cordial, although this has not always been so. At the time we are presently concerned with, around 1913, there were no Roman Catholic Badagas: all of the Christians were Lutherans (Eppler 1900: passim).

The Badaga Christians live in the four Nilgiri towns and in several Christian hamlets. These hamlets are exogamous, except in the case where a family has migrated from one hamlet to another and may then arrange marriages with Christians in its new place of residence. In recent cases of marriage between a Catholic and a Protestant, the bride will join whichever is her husband's church.

Discipline in a Protestant hamlet rests in the hands of the Pastorate Committee, which is composed mainly of laymen. This is in contrast with the more

177 533 are Tamil, not Badagu. Very many of the Badaga hamlets have built a bhajan house specifically for use during evenings of devotion. Such houses are owned by the hamlet in common and are considered as temples. Inside the bhajan house will be a number of lithographic prints of Kṛiṣṇa and other gods, and perhaps an image. During the course of a devotional evening, puja will be done to the image or to some of the lithographs. Not everyone in a hamlet is interested in the bhajan form of worship, however; but its popularity is clearly increasing, for it has its strongest following among the village youths. Once a year small donations are offered for the support of the bhajan group by every household in the hamlet where it is performed. An increasing interest in bhajans has been noted elsewhere in South India (cf. Singer 1959: 148-49).

368 423 378 182 178 196 (431)

177 195 2) Lingayats, too, have developed their ties with the plains. Before this century they knew little about the Vīraśaiva religion in their Mysore home-land. Perhaps once a year a Lingayat guru would wander up into the Nilgiris from Nanjangud (so says Harkness 1832: 137); but whatever he might be able to teach about the Lingayat faith would have to be transmitted entirely by word of mouth. In the 20th Century, on the other hand, the Badaga Lingayats have become literate, and some of them read books on Lingayat philosophy quite avidly. Cheap transportation has also enabled them to make pilgrimages to some of the places that are sacred in Vīraśaiva belief, and to meet well-informed monks and Jangamas in the towns of Mysore State.

177 582 (578) One significant fruit of this increased contact has been the occurrence of a number of marriages, during the present century, between Badaga Lingayat men and Kanarese Lingayat girls; even a few of the conservative Wodeyas have taken this step. The move for marital links with Mysore has not been met with equanimity by

433 (648) employing Kasuvas and exploiting the grazing potentials offered by tropical savanna woodlands, bamboo thickets, thorny thickets, and related savannas of the Mysore Ditch.

234 778 (776) (782) (946) The Bergani dairy-temple center. A sacred buffalo herd is maintained at the Bergani dairy-temple center honoring the goddess Masthi Mathai. At the center there is a building with an inner dairy-temple, priest's quarters, and rooms to shelter buffalo calves (Plate III, A). Several buffalo-pens stand close by. Down slope there is another building where pilgrims may sleep. Inside it is a sacred

778 (782) (793) (988) room where an employed Chetti annually weaves new clothing for the goddess's image and the attendant priest. Food for hundreds of pilgrims who attend an annual festival is cooked in a nearby shed with aligned fireplaces.

234 778 (431) (648) Features inside the dairy-temple are identically related to the arrangement of features within Badaga row temples described in a later chapter. The dairy-temple center and a herd of over 70 buffaloes are supported through monetary gifts and buffaloes donated by devotees. Todas sometimes give buffaloes. Most gift buffaloes are garlanded and presented to the priest during a week preceding the festival honoring

234 778 793 the goddess. The young priest, who may serve for a year or more, looks after the sacred buffaloes and processes their milk inside the dairy-temple. He never returns to secular life during his term in office, and must give up the priesthood on Masthi Mathai's Monday if he starts dreaming about girls or wishes to get married. The youth milks sacred buffaloes in the morning and evening, takes buffaloes to and from

234 pasture on neighboring slopes, and processes milk into clarified
778 butter. This, as the sacred clarified butter of the Badagas, is used
(793) in lamps within the dairy-temple and for ritual at Badaga festivals
or temples. Any Badaga male may visit the Bergani dairy-temple and
(237) drink buttermilk given to him by the priest. Because women are pollut-
(372) ing, no woman may enter the dairy-temple complex itself. However,
(262) women of nearby Bergani hamlet come daily to an established point at
(562) an uncontaminating distance from the dairy-temple and there receive
(783) buttermilk for household consumption. Buttermilk from processed
sacred milk is also drunk by the priest. The priest never eats meat
793 while in office and cooks his own vegetarian food. All grains, vege-
(262) tables, and other foodstuffs needed by him are supplied by visitors
(431) or neighboring Bergani Badagas.

The festival honoring Masthi Hethai takes place on a Monday in
796 mid-January. Badaga males from all over the Nilgiris come with their
(788) Hethai sticks to worship the goddess (Plate III, B). Women may also
(562) attend, but must remain an uncontaminating distance away from sacred
(293) places. Men and women wear new white clothing, must not bring any-
(262) thing made with leather, and eat no meat during the festival. At the
(784) festival's climax, two entranced priests believed to be possessed by
Masthi Hethai predict crop yields in the coming main crop season
(793) (karbokam) and inform a few men that their wives will shortly conceive.
(241) Daily and festival rituals at Bergani are thus parts of a fertility
(842) cult related to the Badaga's economy and future prosperity.

234 Badaga hundis. The Badagas have for a long time used seasonal
361

778 likely to be a tall stone shaft called a mahalinga, which is another [532] emblem of Lord Shiva. Near or within the inner sanctuary, and adjacent to the mahalinga, there may be carved stone bulls (Nanthis) representing Lord Shiva's vehicle.

000 Thoraiyas and Badagas. Harkness (1832: 109) stated that the Thoraiyas, "a lower class of people who had principally gained their livelihood by weaving a kind of sackcloth," came to the Nilgiris after the first Badagas. When Harkness traveled over the upper Nilgiris he apparently noticed a few Thoraiya families residing in hamlets where Badagas or other caste people dwelt, but he also mentioned a Thoraiya hamlet. The Thoraiyas, who were generally the poorest inhabitants, used the distaff and spinning wheel (Harkness 1832: 112). Thus, they probably continued to weave cloth.

618 Thoraiyas presently inhabit a few of their own hamlets, but many live in hamlets or villages occupied by Badagas and other caste 000 people. Because of their lower caste standing, they are separated from higher caste members by space, a wall, or both (Figure 17). Their houses are similar to Badaga houses, but proportionately more Thoraiyas live in half-houses (Figure 18). Thoraiya temples are also like Badaga temples. Some Thoraiyas cultivate their own land, but others earn all their income by laboring for others. Because of the abundance of mass-produced cloth, they no longer weave cloth.

618 In all likelihood Thoraiyas labored for the Badagas from a long time prior to Harkness' visit. Traditional relationships between Badaga master families and Thoraiya servant families cause some

1. The Badagas

361 [103] [137] Occupance patterns. The Badaga communities of Basukolli, Devala, Kolapalli, Marakarai, Mundhatti, Pandalur, and Soladi are scattered over the Nilgiri Wynaad (Figure 2). They lie in sections with deciduous forest remnants and patches covered by bamboo thickets. The tendency for Badagas to live in nucleated communities according to ancestral custom is in the Wynaad opposed by the tendency for people to scatter over the landscape according to Malabarian custom. As a result, at one community members live in a hamlet, at another some live in a hamlet while others own houses dispersed over the nearby landscape, and at a third all Badagas dwell in dispersed houses within the area covered by the community. To cite specific examples, Marakarai has a hamlet, Devala has a hamlet and dispersed houses, and all Soladi houses are dispersed. Nucleated development follows three steps: 1) a single house is or a few joined houses are first constructed next to a courtyard, 2) a new house is then positioned adjacent to the courtyard and approximately vertical to an antecedent house, and 3) another house is built on the other side of the courtyard and approximately parallel to the previously constructed house (Figure 22). Figuratively, development leads to change from a straight line to an L-shaped to a U-shaped house arrangement. Single dispersed houses are also fronted by courtyards. The growing of at least one sacred tulasi plant within a small rectangular enclosure on each courtyard is a distinctive Badaga cultural trait. Frequent sweepings with a cowdung solution over courtyards, ground surrounding houses,

241 778 351 356

TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 701

342 an entranceway may be placed on either its left or right side. In addition to the front door, a rear or side door is also included. A (231) chicken coop is sometimes built on the veranda, and a large grain [953] basket, quern, firewood, or other objects may be stored there. In house interiors, through placement of storage baskets or dividing wall construction, a left kitchen side may be visibly differentiated from the right living area and sleeping side. If there is no visible reminder, occupants simple remember that such a division exists. As [352] there is no sleeping platform, household members sleep on mats spread [513] over the floor each night. The kitchen fireplace is located next to [354] the center of the left wall, and there is sometimes a large circular [353] drying basket suspended over it. An upper storage platform extending over the warmer kitchen side is reached by a ladder.

346 A Nilgiri Wynaad Badaga temple may outwardly be constructed somewhat like a house (Figure 23). The Devala temple has no inner or outer posts, so squared wooden rafters are attached to wall plates and [778] an emplaced ridgepiece. The hipped roof is tiled. Inside the temple there are two large stone bulls (Nanthis) and an altar next to the center of the rear wall. Temples of a distinctive type serving as worship centers to Badagas and their neighbors have square bases, grilled woodwork in side walls, and pyramidal roofs plated with copper [778] sheets (Plate XII, C). In each temple's interior there is a walled room holding a deity's image, a ceremonial knife, and other ritualistic paraphernalia. Smaller shrines with similar appearance (Plate XII, D) [777] have platforms in their central interiors. The sacred structures with pyramidal roofs are identified with so-called Chinese temples in

9: Natesa Sastri U-5 (no date) 1892
AW50 Badaga AW50

to their own country they preferred to settle down as the cultivators of the Tôḍa-lands, acknowledging the Tôḍas as their landlords, and themselves taking up the humble position of farmers under them; and the lazy Tôḍa who was extremely glad to get people to cultivate his lands was thoroughly satisfied with this arrangement. Even to this day the Baḍagas, in acknowledgment of their subordination to the Tôḍas, pay their *Gûḍu*—their tenants' fee—to these landlords of the Nîlagiris.

Another fact that seems to indicate that the Baḍagas are immigrants is that a crude kind of polyandry exists among them. Baḍaga society allows this practice, and it is not uncommon when a man has five sons for only one of them to be married, though Baḍagas when questioned about it stoutly deny the existence of this custom. If the marriage tie is in this respect somewhat lax, the Baḍaga rules in other ways are very strict, and a woman would be at once out-cast.d who went astray with a person of a different caste. The existence of this custom among the Baḍagas is, as has been said, probably to be explained by the fact that they are immigrants. Naturally most of those who came up from Maisûr would be men, and the hardships consequent upon the great change of climate and habits of life would tell more severely upon the women than upon the hardier male sex. The practice of polyandry having thus been allowed to grow up obtained the sanction of custom, and still prevails as a caste-rule to which little or no objection is made.

This custom, the existence of all crafts and arts among themselves, and the payments of *Gûḍu* in recognition of the Tôḍas as their landlords, are three very strong proofs of the contention that the Baḍagas are only colonists on these hills, and are not the original inhabitants.

There are several sects among the Baḍagas. Mr. Grigg enumerates eighteen—seven major and eleven minor. From the results of my researches I consider that all these eighteen may be simplified into six—five high-caste and one low-caste.

They are

1. Uḍaya
2. Hâruva
3. Adhikâri
4. Kanaka
5. Baḍaga

(High caste.)

6. Toraya ... (Low caste.)

Uḍayas are Lingâyats in religion and carry the *Sivalinga*—the

9: Natesa Sastri U-5 (no date) 1892
AW50 Badaga AW50

Siva image—tied round their necks. They claim to be superior to all the Baḍagas and are regarded as such. They are priests to all the Baḍagas of the Lingâyat class and are strict vegetarians. They do not intermarry with any of the other high-caste Baḍaga sects. Uḍaya was and is the title assumed by the Maisûr Râjas, and those Baḍagas by being thus designated as a caste, claim superior blood in their veins.

Next in rank come the Hâruvas. From their name being so closely connected with the *Âryas*—the respectable—and from their habit of wearing the Brahmanical thread, we are warranted in believing that they must have been originally the poor Brâhman priests of the Baḍagas that migrated to this country, though they have now got themselves closely mingled with the Baḍagas, as is always the lot of an unfortunate few in the midst of many. These Hâruvas also are strict vegetarians, and act as priests. Hâruvas originally did not intermarry with other Baḍaga sects, though now there is a good deal of laxity in the observance of this rule.

The Uḍayas and Hâruvas and, to a certain extent, the Adhikâris also, are vegetarians. The other two high castes, and of course the low-caste Torayas also, have no objection of any kind to eating flesh. It is also said that the vegetarian Adhikâri, if he marries into a flesh-eating caste of the Baḍagas, betakes himself to this latter diet very readily.

The Torayas are the last in the list and they are regarded as sons and servants to the five high-caste Baḍaga sects—to the Hâruvas especially. We shall as we proceed have occasion to notice the several services which a Toraya has to render to the Baḍagas. This last sect is the lowest in the scale and they are prohibited from intermarrying with the other high-caste Baḍagas, as long as they are sons to them. They are, as we have already remarked, flesh-eaters. The Uḍayas, Adhikâris, and Kanakas are Lingâyats in religion and the other three—the Hâruvas, Baḍagas and Torayas are Saivites.

121 Having thus spoken about their caste divisions we shall next turn our attention to their physical appearance, their character, and their manner of life. The Baḍagas are as a rule slightly 142 built people. The hard weather and the severe climate with which they had to struggle ten generations ago, during their first settlement, joined to the fear of having little to eat, have left well marked traces in their physique. They are labourers from their youth to their death, for, as they settled down as agriculturists, labour in the

9: Natesa Sastri U-5 (no date) 1892
AW50 Badaga AW50

764 over the four twigs. The eldest relation now descends into the pit
[237] and performs his last act of worship to the dead body by lighting
[312] (or rather throwing into the fire) perfumes. This ceremony is called *Mîlapâla*—the passing of the thread (of the manes over the dead man.) Several petty things are then placed in the grave. First of all a *Liṅga*, which is supposed to give to the dead eternal felicity in the other world. Then come a small gold coin called *Virarâyapaṇa* of the old Maisûr mint, a milking vessel a bambu measure, rice and other condiments, a stick with a silver knob, an umbrella and a new basket are also placed in the grave. These are supposed to be of service to the departed individual in the other world. Whatever may be omitted, the *Liṅga* and the *Virarâyapaṇa*, the bambu measure and the milking vessel (*Hoṣe*) must always be placed in the grave. Even the poorest Baḍaga must not grudge these to his dead relation.

After all these arrangements are completed and the dead body is thus provided with what it needs for its journey to the other world all stand round the grave and the eldest son, or the nearest agnatic kinsman if there is not a son, takes three handfuls of earth and pronounces the following *mantra* or incantation :—

Jatige śêru janage śêru
Uṭṭu huṭṭappane śêru
Muṭṭu muṭṭappanê śêru :

'Mix on with your class, mix on with your people, mix on with your forefathers and mix on with the forefathers of your forefathers' All pronounce this and throw down three handfuls of earth each. The meaning is plain; the soul of the departed is requested to join the souls of the forefathers of the family who have already departed from this life. Then the grave is covered up. In thus covering up the grave the earth must not be passed between the two legs of the person who throws it in. Then five small stones are placed over the closed grave, one at each of the four corners and one in the middle. The spade which was used in digging the grave is stuck to its handle in a reversed position and is dragged from south to north and cast away. All the men then proceed to the river, bathe, and return to their homes by dark. When they return home a lamp
778 is lighted and is worshipped by every one of these persons. It may
787 here be mentioned incidentally that the worship of lighted lamps is
[354] a characteristic feature of the Baḍaga religion. In every house the lighted lamp is worshipped, and it is a belief among them that if a light dies out of itself in a house every kind of prosperity will

9: Natesa Sastri U-5 (no date) 1892
AW50 Badaga AW50

quit the family. Thus a Baḍaga will never sleep with a light in his house, but before he goes to bed worships it and then carefully extinguishes it. A grand feast is given that night by the agnatic kindred or by a son of the dead person to which all come to eat. Both in the river and in the house the *Liṅga* is worshipped by the Baḍagas if they are of the Lingayat class.

The feast closes the first day's funeral rite of the Baḍagas. The second day's ceremony is a simple affair. It is what is called the pouring of the milk over the grave. On the morning of the second day the eldest mourner of the family starts to the burial place with five measures of the *Koraḷi* grain tied up in his cloth and a big new pot containing milk.

Worship is performed to the stone placed in the middle of the grave and the milk from the new pot is poured over it. The son pours it first and then the others follow him in turn. Each of those assembled there then takes up a handful of the *Koraḷi* grain and pronouncing the words *Avvappane ṣeru*—'Mix yourself with your forefathers'—they cast it over the middle stone all at once. All then march round from south to north and touch the five stones. They then proceed to the river, where, after having been shaved—even their moustaches are removed as an indication of their deep mourning,—they all bathe. They then worship the *Liṅga* there and return home where the same act of worship is again performed, and this brings to a conclusion the ceremonies of the second day.

The third day is a very important day and the funeral rites of the dead may be said to close with it. At 1 A.M. on that day four plantain leaves, four measures of rice, four measures of bean-seed and four new pots are made ready in the dead man's house. All gather there round a *Kerachi*—a bronze pan used for frying grain, &c. Paddy is poured into this *Kerachi* by the agnatic kindred and by a son of the dead person, while five females, the wife not joining, stir it up with reaping hooks. The *Kerachi* is already placed upon a lighted fire; and while the paddy is thus being turned up the wife mourns outside with loud wailings. A handful of straw from the outside thatch of the house is brought in and lighted up in the hall —*oḷirmane*. The four new pots, four plantain leaves, &c., are passed over it. Five or three youngsters hold the pots, while the elders utter the following prayer:—

Hâl hechchali kap hechchali
Kuḍi hechchali payil hechchali,